Jog Maṅjhi says: Please, bring some molasses. When this is brought, they give the village headman and his deputy and after them all who are there. 584 [262]

The Jog Maṅjhi then says: Honoured friends, as you see, we are drying people; otherwise in olden times they were saying, the rich people dry paddy and husks, as for us, we are drying you friends; for this, honoured friends, be especially grieved. Then the visitors answer: The grieving ones, Sir, have all gone in advance, to Somae's narrow valley, to the fine sand they have gone to herd crocodiles. Thereupon they eat, and when this is done the Jog Maṅjhi again says: Listen, we have cut and cleared the threshing-floor, please, bring us again some parched and flattened rice. They bring this and give to all who are there. The Jog Maṅjhi then says: Please, bring the friends some water from the closet of the ancestors[7]. Then they give them each one brass-cup full of beer. They finish eating and drinking.

Now the Jog Maṅjhi calls out: You wife of the eldest son (if there is no such one, he will call some other girl), come here, pick up these leaf-plates and throw them away; bring some water in a loṭa, and pour some out in a brass-cup for all of us; we shall wash our hands and mouth. When they have washed themselves, they give each of them two leaf-cups of beer. They then come out from the house, enter the cow-shed[8] and sit down on bedsteads. The Jog Maṅjhi says: You, wife of the eldest son (if there is such a one there), please bring a hookah[9] and tobacco. She brings this, and they hand it over to the visitors. [515] [352] [276]

The Jog Maṅjhi now goes into the house and says to the father of the young man: Look here, Sir, what shall we give the visitors to eat with the rice? He answers: Some of you call my eldest son. They call him; he comes and says: Why have you called me, father? His father says to him in reply: I say, my son, bring the biggest castrated goat. He goes and brings it. [231]

The Jog Maṅjhi then says: Do bring some water in a loṭa. They bring this and pour the water on the head of the castrated goat; thereupon they kill it.

They ask the visitors to sit down and take food. When they have given everybody rice and curry, the Jog Maṅjhi says: As you see, Sirs, you are our friends; as for us, we are drying the friends; our ancestors of old, the rich ones, they would dry paddy and husks; as you see, we are drying you, our friends; let this especially grieve you. The visitors then reply: Yes, Sir, the grieving ones have gone to Somae's narrow valley, to the fine sand to herd crocodiles. Now they eat; when they have done, they wash and chew tobacco with lime.

Before they say good-bye to them, they again take them inside and give them beer. When they have drunk, they come out to be said good-bye to. They stand in a row, and while in this position they salute each other. Thereupon they see them off, and they go away.

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[7] See Santal Dictionary s. v. bhitar. [8] During day-time, when no cattle is there, the cow-shed is commonly used for visitors. Bedsteads are placed here to sit down on. [9] See Santal Dictionary s. vv. huka and thamakur. [343] [352]

[8] Calc. Sta. Mus. — Bedding.

 585

calls the young men in the village together, sending the Goḍet, and says to them: Do set up a marriage-shed for us here. Thereupon he brings the village priest. When he has come, the village headman says to the bridegroom's father: Please give the priest three fowls, one speckled and two white ones, three half-seers of rice, one pot of beer, and the necessaries for making a sacrifice. The priest takes all this to the sacred grove or somewhere in the open field and sacrifices the fowls in the name of the marriage-shed. He makes the following invocation: Here then, Jaher era, in connexion with so and so setting up a marriage-shed I am giving thee, handing thee a sacrificial fowl; mayest thou with pleasure, with favour, accept this, receive this; mayest thou caress this, deem this big; we are now going to such and such a village to be a bridegroom's party; on the road, in the forest may no sudden fear or alarm happen to us, no stumbling, no fall, no spells, no enchantments; to the right, to the left may you toss it away, spatter it away, Father my Ṭhạkur. We shall eat, we shall drink, do not let stomach-ache, headache arise, be caused. With the friends may there be no strife, no quarrel, no evil, no enmity, no loss, no destruction, Father my Ṭhạkur. While reciting this invocation he offers the speckled fowl to Jaher era. Thereupon he sacrifices one white fowl to The Five (Mọ̄rọ̄ko Turuiko)[22], making a similar invocation. Lastly he sacrifices the remaining white fowl to Marañ buru, and to him also he recites an invocation in the same way. The village priest has brought a couple of men with him; they make a hash of the fowls and eat them, and the pot of beer they brought they also drink; thereupon they return home. 585 793 782

The Jọg Mạñjhi then again goes to the marriage-shed and asks the young men: Have you finished the marriage-shed or not as yet? They answer him: Yes, we have finished it. The Jọg Mạñjhi then says to them: Dig a hole in the middle of the marriage-shed; we shall put a Mahua tree down there. He next asks them: Have you finished digging the hole or not as yet? He says to them: Enlarge the hole down below in the ground. When they have done this, the Jọg Mạñjhi says to the bridegroom's parents: Bring three branches of raw turmeric and five cowries and three tips of dhubi grass. Grind the turmeric, mix three grains of sun-dried rice into the turmeric. They collect this and cover it up in a bundle, and where they have enlarged the hole, there they put it down. When this is done, they plant the Mahua tree in the dug hole, and when they have planted the Mahua tree they wrap a straw-rope round it up to the top. 585 [824]

Thereupon the Jọg Mạñjhi calls the woman, the conductor of ceremonies, and says to her: Plaster this with earth and make it smooth, and whitewash it with flour, and grind some red-ochre stone; when this is done, paint figures on the marriage-shed post, and paint pictures of the bride and bridegroom in front. The conductor of ceremonies does this. [343]

Thereupon the Jọg Mạñjhi says to the young men who set up the marriage-shed: This is finished; now before anything else have some food and strengthen yourselves. He goes [515]

[22] See Santal Dictionary s. v.

[4] Cole Ñta Mus. – Bodding.

2: Skrefsrud M-5 (1870-1871) 1942 AW42 Santal AW42

V. HUSBAND AND WIFE IN THEIR OWN HOME

a. Setting up a household.

When husband and wife have been separated from his parents, they set up a household for themselves. They ask the village headman to get a house-site. They give him beer and food. The husband cuts trees and brings them from the forest; he cuts thatching grass in the forest, or buys it from somewhere. He fixes nine posts in the ground; thereupon he puts up three roof-beams; at three places he fixes double cross-beams, he fixes forty rafters, and in three places, at the top, in the middle, and at the bottom of these, he puts cross-laths. Thereupon he makes the rafter-framework and after this thatches. Then he makes a wattle and daub wall; having done this he puts up something to keep separate the place for the ancestors. The wife then kneads earth and smears this on; afterwards she fills the house inside with earth and plasters all smooth, and she makes a fire-place. The husband makes a door, of wood or of thin bamboo-slips. In the house they have two bedsteads, a wooden mortar and pestle, a winnowing-fan, baskets, brooms, earthenware vessels, big and small, ladles made of wood or of pumpkin-shell, kodali axe, chisel, adze, sickle, knife, plough-beam, yoke, plough and plough-share, flute, bow and arrows, battle-axe, sword and dancing-drum and kettle-drum. Poor people have no battle-axe, sword, dancing-drum, or kettle-drum.

The sacred closet is for the ancestors to stay hidden in. Women belonging to other men are not permitted to go in there; and some people do not permit even their own daughters to go in there, that is, when they have been married. In this closet they make a small enclosure, and this is the real place for the ancestors to stay hidden in. In the closet money is also kept. On the backside of the house they have the homestead field; here they cultivate maize. And in front of the house towards the village street they have the court-yard. This they fence securely in on the four sides. They make two openings for going out and in, one is the homestead field door and one the village street door.

The man builds a shed for the cows and bullocks and buffaloes, a fold for the goats and sheep and a sty for the pigs. The fowls and the cat stay in the house, and the dog stays somewhere on the verandah, to guard the house.

3t Mukherjea O. Y-4,5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
AW42 Santal AW42

bunch of "sal" flowers, there a village-group sitting at a feast of rice and rice-beer. We were also invited to examine some more wall-paintings, walls which were proud to bear representations of steam-engines and aero-planes, and marking our reluctance to be so near modernism, our Santal friends expressed profound surprise.

The yard is scrupulously clean, and, to translate a Bengali saying, "You might pick vermilion if some dropped upon it." There is sometimes the finish of a cement but generally everything is plastered over with mud and cow-dung. Jutting out into the lane are the pig-styes and poultry-yard. The room at the entrance is the "Gohal" (*cattle-shed*). Almost invariably a stench will repel one's olfactory nerves, but then one must not forget that the Santals like the Hindus almost worship the cows; and the first item in their annual Harvest Home is the "Gohal puja," when the cows are anointed with vermilion and adored as their best earthly possession. There, one will find the oil-press and the rice-husking "dheñki." In the houses of the more affluent, a separate outer house can be found which gives the combined service of a kitchen and poultry-yard. Drinking-water drawn from the neighbouring springs is stored in earthen pitchers, about two cubits and a half in height, and kept in a conspicuous place.

4: Biswas D, E-3,4 (1931-1945) 1956
AW42 Santal AW42
SANTAL PARGANAS

342 ventilation except a few holes high up on the wall. In front of the house the eaves of the roof are elongated which serves as a covered verandah. The floor of the house is a little raised above the ground, being filled up with earth. This is trampled down hard and made smooth with mud mixed with cowdung.

342 Every Santal house in which the head of the
778 family lives has a 'Bhitar'. This is a part of a room
769 partitioned by a low wall which runs out from the side wall some six to nine feet into the com-
[609] partment. It is a kind of stall, and is sacred to the ancestors. Here food is kept for the ancestors and no
[784] stranger is permitted inside. The married daughter of the house, who in her girlhood was allowed entry is now not permitted inside, because she now belongs to another family and might cause religious pollution.

• 343 There is a separate shed for cattle. Within this
231 shed in some houses special arrangement is made to keep pigs. In one corner of the cattle-shed two mud-walls about three feet in height are built, to form a small rectangular sty. Over it bamboo sticks and branches of trees are placed, so that pigs cannot escape by jumping. A hole is made in one of the walls and bamboo sticks are placed there in such a way that by raising these sticks the pigs can easily come out and enter. But in some villages in the Godda Damin are found the pig-sheds built outside the house. In this case the walls of about 5 feet and the roof are made of thatch.

342 Inside the house on the verandah the "Dhenk" 3/1
252 (rice-husker) is fixed and a mill-stone is kept. Except
351 during cold season, when the inside is warm, the
[407] 1/1 Santals generally stay outside on the courtyard both day

[Erratum: this should read "'Dhenki'". Cf. errata sheet, category 116, p. ix -- Analyst]

St Culshaw M-5 (1932-1943) 1949 AW42 Santal AW42

585 182 They are all the more important because some of them are things that a boy and girl would never do publicly together."[1] Among the Santals many of the symbolic acts cannot be truly interpreted apart from their relation to the unseen world. The invocations used in addressing the spirits at the time of marriage come as near to true prayer as any used at other times.[2] Before the 585 wedding party leaves the bridegroom's village for the home of 431 the bride, the bridegroom's father provides a hen for the village 082 priest, who offers it in the sacred grove. He prays: "We offer to 539 you a hen because of the marriage booth. Accept it, enjoy it and grow big. Now we are about to go as a marriage party to such and such a village. Guard us so that on the way through the forest there may be no sudden fright, no tripping, no tumbling, no spells, no enchantments. Clear the way for us to right and to left, O father spirits. There we shall eat and drink. May we suffer no stomach pains, no head pains. Guard us also so that there be no quarrels, no bickerings, no divisions, no disturbances, no ruin, no spoiling between relations."

• 343 476 Before the marriage, booths are erected in the courtyards of both homes, and all the villagers assist in the work. Straw ropes are strung from side to side in the village street with mango leaves inserted through the strands, and the courtyards are decorated in the same manner. The posts of the booths are made with branches of the *matkom* tree. In the floor a hole is dug in which some fresh turmeric mixed with sun-dried rice, five cowrie shells and three leaves of *dhubi*[3] grass are buried. These are covered in and then the whole floor is plastered with cowdung. The young men who build the booth are feasted and provided with beer. On the day before setting out for the bride's village the bridegroom's party go to the village bathing place for the "water marriage". One of the young men digs a small hole at the water side into which the water can seep and three arrows are planted round the hole. Vermilion is placed on the arrows, while at their base are placed some cowrie shells and a hen's egg. One of the women shoots at the water with an arrow, while another strikes it with a "sword", generally a stick. Then libations of beer are poured out to *Marak Buru* and the ancestors before all present partake. Finally, water is drawn in pots and taken to the home. Again when they reach the courtyard another hole is dug, the arrows are placed round it and the water

[1] V. Elwin and S. Hivale, *Folk-Songs of the Maikal Hills*, p. 203.
[2] One example has been quoted in Chapter 6, p. 67.
[3] *Cynodon dactylon*, Pers. Reg.